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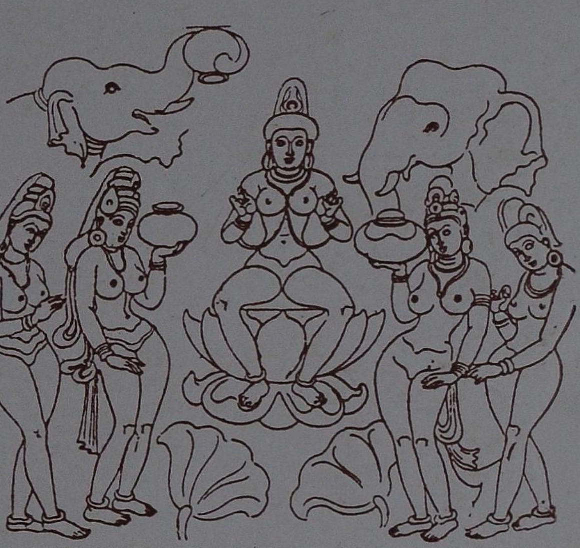
THE CITY AND THE HINTERLAND—URBAN PROCESSES IN MEDIEVAL SOUTH INDIA

(International Women's Association Endowment Lecture-5)



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FOREWORD

History shows that South India emerged as a powerful force under the Imperial *Colas* i.e. from 850 A.D. to 1250 A.D., in which the power of the Colas was projected up to Vietnam, Indonesia on the sea and up to the Ganges on land. Culture followed power projection. This coincided with the process of urbanization, a rural-urban continuum, representing the political geography of the *Cola* State. This bulletin has been brought out on the occasion of the 5th Lecture in the International Women's Association Endowment Lecture Series. This lecture has been delivered by Dr. R. Champakalashmi, an eminent historian and a great Scholar who has done vast research work on Art, Religion, Society, State and Urbanization in South India. It shows that four major sub-regions called *mandalam* evolved out of the earlier politico-cultural regions namely *Cola nadu, Pandya nadu, Tondai nadu* and *Cera nadu.* They were developed by the *Colas* as sub-regions and integrated into a larger political system. Her lecture traces the evolution of the city and its hinter land, following the historical geography approach.

We thank Dr. R. Champakalakshmi for providing the manuscript and geographical sketches prepared by her well in advance to enable us to release the bulletin along with her lecture. We also thank the International Women's Association, which has created the Endowment Fund.

We are sure that this bulletin will be a valuable addition to the library of historians and scholars.

Chennai-8.

R. Kannan 25/11/2002
Commissioner.

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The city and the Hinterland – Urban processes in Medieval South India

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(BIO- DATA)

Awarded the Governor's prize (Gold Medal, Madras University) for her M.Litt., thesis on Jainism in India, Champakalakshmi obtained her Ph.D. for her thesis on Vaishnava Iconography in Tamil county, since published as a book. She started her Academic Career as a lecturer in the University of Madras, moved to the Jawaharlal Nehru University as Associate Professor in 1972 and served Professor from 1983 to1998. She has published three books (Vaishnava Iconography in the Tamil country; *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization : South India from c. 300 BC to AD 1300:* and edited along with Pro.Gopal, a festschrift for Romila Thapar entitled Tradition, Dissent and Ideology) and several articles on Art, Religion, Society, State and Urbanization in South India, received the Gupta Research Award for her books on South Indian Urbanization, presided over three History congresses at All India level. She has delivered several Endowment lectures including the prestigious K.A.Nilakana Sastri Endowment lectures at University of Madras; lectured at various Indian Universities as the Special UGC National lecturer, as visiting Professor in Mexico and Costa Rica, participated in several National and International conferences in U.S.A.., U.K. European countries, Japan, Hong Kong and Sri Lanka. Her research papers have appeared in National and International Academic journals. She has been on various committees of the UGC and ICHR as adviser and consultant, evaluating the History departments in various aspects Universities for the special assistance programme of the UGC. Guided twenty five M. Phil. and ten Ph.D theses at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. She has given T.V. programmes on various aspects of Indian culture and has been a consultant for serials like the Discovery of India by Shyam Benegal. Now actively engaged in research work on Religion and Society and other aspects of South Indian history including a work on the Historical Geography (Atlas) of Tamil Nadu and a text book on South Indian history for the College level.

The City and the Hinterland: Urban processes in Medieval South India.

(R.Champakalakshmi)

It is often assumed in historical writings that a city has a given hinterland. Hence no attempt is made to look into the processes of the evolution of a hinterland, which is pre-requisite in understanding both the urban processes and the simultaneous evolution of a dynastic or political hinterland i.e. the state. This is true of most pre- modern states, not only in India but also in other parts of the world. South India offers a particularly interesting example of the emergence of the state under the Cōḷas from the mid- ninth to the mid- thirteenth centuries AD, in which the evolution of a territory and a culture region coincided with the processes of urbanization and a state synthesis. This process was marked initially by the development of an agrarian order and integration of agrarian regions called *nāḍu* through institutions like the *Brahmadeya* and the Temple and subsequently by the *Nagaram* and emergence of urban centres in a rural-urban continuum.

The political geography of the Cōḷa state is marked by an agrarian or peasant region called the *nāḍu*,[1] which had evolved spontaneously in the form of clusters of clan settlements in the pre-Cōḷa period. The *nāḍu* became the building block and administrative unit of the Cōḷa state, which introduced innovative structures like the *vaḷanāḍu*, a larger revenue unit and the *tan-kūṟu* or an independent revenue unit and above all the *maṇḍalam* in order to integrate the *Nāḍus* and the pre-existing poltico-cultural sub-regions into the Tamil macro-region. Most writings on the Cōḷa state have taken the Tamil macro region as the territorial extent of the Cōḷa state, without going into the stages through which the evolution of this macro-region region itself took place, in all its aspects – economic, social, cultural and political. Recent researches on the agrarian order, urban processes and the emergence of cities and their typologies have shown that the four hundred years of Cōḷa rule were crucial in the making of this region, its institutional structures and cultural matrix, most of which survived till the colonial period together with some minor transformations which occurred in the Vijayanagara period i.e, fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries AD.

The study of state structures in pre- modern South India involves a wide range of issues. This lecture takes up one of them, i.e. urban processes, in which the study of the city and its

hinterland or the city system that evolves in a given context is particularly significant. By a city system what is meant here is the city system that characterizes a socio-political context. This lecture therefore follows the historical geography approach (inter-disciplinary approach) to show that four major sub-regions called the *maṇḍalam* evolved out of the earlier poltico-cultural regions such as Cōḷa nāḍu, Pāṇḍya nāḍu, Toṇḍai nāḍu and Cēra nāḍu (Kongu nāḍu) and were consciously developed by the Cōḷas as sub-regions and integrated into a larger political system using institutional structures like the *Brahmadeya*, *Nagaram*, *Vaḷanāḍu* and *Tankūṟu*, all of which served as administrative and revenue units. The major integrative force and legitimating institution was the Temple based on the *Bhakti* ideology of the Puranic religion. The Temple and *Bhakti* , which were mutually supportive, provided the ideological underpinnings of the Cōḷa state. The city that developed in this context was the Temple city, its urban character being sustained by the economic and social role of the temple in organizing not only the agrarian order but also the urban space for the development of trade and crafts and the respective communities of traders and craftsmen. The morphology of the city reflects the temple's role, as the city itself developed around the temple in both physical and functional terms. An urban hierarchy also emerged, at the apex of which stood the royal centres and port cities, followed by a network of *Nagaram* and the movement of itinerant trading organizations, linking the Tamil region with other regions of peninsular India and beyond with Srilanka and distant lands in southeast Asia and China.

I shall take up one major city viz., Kuḍamūkku- Paḷaiyāṟai (present Kumbhakonam) in the core of the Kaveri valley and its centrality in the emergence of its hinterland i.e., Cōḷa maṇḍalam and then make comparisons with other cities like Tañjāvūr and Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram , also in Cōḷamaṇḍalam and also primate cities like Kāñcīpuram in the Palar-Cheyyar valley i.e., the heart of Toṇḍai maṇḍalam, its hinterland. Two concepts of great significance which have been introduced by urban geographers and have been influential in hinterland studies are the concept of "urban spheres of influence" and "the central place" theory. These concepts have been used by geographers with varying emphases and degrees of success. Such enterprises are relatively easier to undertake for modern/industrial towns for which the statistical data on population densities (demography), modes of communication and transport networks far outweigh in quantity and intelligibility the nature of evidence that lie embedded in archaeological, epigraphic and textual sources available for the earlier periods of Indian history. Yet, in the historical geography approach,

a contextualization, both in space and time, offers a great deal of interesting possibilities and has in fact been attempted with a modicum of success and useful results.

The twin cities of Kuḍamūkka-Paḻaiyāṟai[2] evolved as a royal /political centre under the imperial Cōḻas, exercising politico-economic and cultural influence in varying degrees over different zones in the Kaveri valley, which came to be designated as Cōḻamaṇḍalam and beyond it over other politico-cultural regions, the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam in the south and Naḍuvil nāḍu in the north and even as far north as Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Jayankoṇḍacōḻamaṇḍalam) with Kāñcīpuram as its centre. The first exercise is the contextualization of the epigraphic data, in space and time, starting from the urban core of Kuḍamūkku-Paḻaiyāṟai and proceeding outwards into the *Nāḍus* (agrarian regions) surrounding this core region in Cōḻamaṇḍalam and beyond, which shows evidence of interaction between the core region and the *Nāḍus* in Cōḻamaṇḍalam and other regions eventually leading to a state synthesis. The second exercise undertaken here is to examine how the regions concerned were bound together, politically and culturally, for which the concept of circulation[3] is relevant, as it provides the key to the analysis of communication, routes (of pilgrimage and trade) and points of convergence and distribution. The Tamil hymnal literature and the hagiographical works of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects have been a useful source of information for charting out the location and routes connecting *bhakti* shrines, which together with the *Brahmadeyas* mark the expansion of the agricultural hinterland and resource base of the Cōḻas.
In other words, if one maps the sacred geography of the hymns, a remarkable coincidence with agrarian and political geography or dynastic hinterland would emerge. A correlation of the hymnal references with the temples and their inscriptional records would also go a long way in the charting of the spatial and chronological expansion of the region. A study of the market centres (*Nagarams*), their proliferation in the different phases of Cōḻa rule, the movement of itinerant trade and their intersection with *Nagarams* may also be graphically presented to show the evolution of an urban network.[4]

Urban hierarchy.

Urban geographers have attempted to delineate three hierarchical levels at which a town operates - an inner intensively dominated one and an outer extensive sphere with a possible

intermediary area between the two. While such attempts have not been uniformly successful even in the context of modern/ industrial cities, a similar demarcation is nevertheless followed, viz., a zone of influence wherein the activity remained closely linked to the town, beyond which lay a zone of economic influence and a zone of cultural influence.[5] The extent of these zones of influence coincide, it is said, with various forms of relationship with the town, described as an *umland* , although no well-bounded, complete unit can be made out of it. It can also vary with each town.

In the case of Kuḍamūkku- Paḷaiyārai, it is the political and cultural influence that overshadows the economic influence, the latter being marked by the institutional forces, which appear in different parts of a region , sometimes simultaneously or in different phases, as the bases of mobilizing and redistribution resources, especially agrarian. Long distances were not covered by the farmer/peasant. for economic exchanges which the *Nagaram* as a marketing centre controlled or supervised. *Nagaram* members and individual merchants (*vyāpāri)* covered longer distances for their merchandise (sale and purchase). Such a *Nagaram* network emerged from the tenth century AD , systematically bringing the agrarian regions closer together into a web of economic activity both through commodity exchange and the use of money as the medium of exchange. The influence of the town on its region is hence variable, some parts closely bound up with it and others only loosely attached to it. Thus economic control would appear to have been exercised at various levels and from different centres. Hence "the need for political and administrative control, which in the 'pre-industrial' stage was dominant over economic relations was fulfilled by a single centre which was the epitome of this culture" enjoying pre-eminence over others. The pattern is a generalized one and "is revealed as a series of isolated centres being brought into interaction through the operation of circulation manifold and from that interaction a hierarchical situation appears"[6]. A series of functional levels emerge corresponding to the ranks of urban hierarchy

The urban core in the Kaveri delta is represented by two sectors, one around Kuḍamūkku in Pāmbūr nāḍu and the other around Paḷaiyāṟai in Tirunaṟaiyūr nāḍu, the Kuḍamūkku complex and the Paḷaiyāṟai complex respectively. The geographical location of these two sites contributed in a large measure to their early development as the nucleus of a rich resource base for the Cōḷas. Situated between the Kaveri and Ariciläṟu, Kuḍamūkku occupies a nodal position in the most fertile part of the delta, where the distributaries are close to one another. South of Kuḍamūkku ,

on the northern banks of the Mudikondān river, Palaiyārai grew around the palace of the imperial Cōlas (Solamaligai). The immediate sphere of influence of these two centres covered the whole of Pāmbūr nādu and a substantial part of Tirunaraiyūr nādu. An inner ring or first zone of influence is recognizable in the *Nādus* immediately surrounding this core. The early *Brahmadeyas* of these *Nādus* had close interaction with the several *Brahmadeya- devadānas* of the Kudamūkku- Palaiyārai complexes, a reciprocal influence i.e. economic interaction, due to a number of land grants to the temples of the twin cities (core region) being made from these areas, pointing to a centripetal movement of resource mobilization. A second or outer zone of urban influence included areas beyond this intensely dominated inner ring, in which the institutional developments were influenced by the politico-cultural agencies of Cōla imperialism, the *Brahmadeya* and the temple replicating this process in several *Nādus*, with the emergence of several central points to which were aggregated small settlements of pastoral-cum- agricultural activities. The *Nādus* of this zone got integrated into an urban system with central points represented either by a large *Brahmadeya* or by a *Nagaram*. A symbiotic and reciprocal influence linked these areas with Kudamūkku- Palaiyārai, the interaction though not regular, being fairly frequent. The royal functionaries and the members of the *Brahmadeyas* of the core region are constantly visible in these *Nādus*, carrying out various economic and political functions. The rest of the *Nādus* in Colamandalam were integrated through a gradual process of agrarian expansion and organization. Beyond Cōlamandalam , Adalaiyur nādu, Kāna nādu, Milalai-k-kūrram, all in Pāndimandalam had links with the urban core of the Kaveri delta.

Thus emerged Cōlamandalam (See Map of Colamandalam), looking towards Kudamūkku-Palaiyārai, both as a nerve centre of administration and as the prime mover in the evolution of urban forms, institutions and structures. The process was one of restructuring pre-existing agrarian or peasant regions i.e. the *Nādus* by introducing the *Brahmadeya* and the temple as super-ordinate instruments of integration. The restructuring process began in the early Cōla period under Parāntaka I (907-955) , reaching its optimal point in the eleventh century under Rājarāja I (985-1014) and Rājendra I(1014-1044), when centralization of power was achieved, the urban network covering the whole of the Tamil macro region. These processes simultaneously brought into existence other well-defined politico-cultural regions such as Jayankondacōlamandalam (Tondai nādu) with Kāñcīpuram as its poltico-cultural centre and Pāndimandalam with Ambasamudram (Rājarājacaturvedimangalam) and Sērmādevi (Cēravanmahādevicaturvedimangalam) as the nuclei of

a large urban core in Mulli nadu in the Tamraparni valley. One may perceive a similar development in Kongu nādu , which by the end of the eleventh century became Mudikondacōlamandalam with Mudikondacōlapuram as its centre. This region was agriculturally less developed till the Cōlas integrated it both through temples and through trade centres of which the major one was Mudikondacōlapuram.

The process thus initiated in Cōlamandalam was replicated in other mandalams. For instance, in Tondaimandalm and Pāndimandalam, the institutional structures of the Kaveri core region were adopted but duly modified in order to create central places and primate cities. Kāñcīpuram in Tondaimandalm stood at the apex of an expanding urban landscape and spheres of influence. Kāñcīpuram's development as the central place was the result of a combination of poitico-cultural and economic factors which were remarkably conspicuous, as it was a commercially and politically important centre even from the early historical period (300 BC- AD 300). In Pāndimandalam, on the contrary, the urban core developed in the Tamraparni valley , where clusters of Cōla *Brahmadeyas* emerged, superseding Madurai, which was the political and cultural centre under the early Pāndyas of the Sangam period and the early medieval Pāndyas of the sixth to ninth centuries AD. Mulli nādu in the Tamraparni valley was consciously developed as a major agrarian region by the Cōlas in the eleventh century with new *Brahmadeyas*, which became the urban core of the southern mandalam.

In Cōlamandalam, on the other hand, Kudamūkku- Palaiyārai's urban influence was challenged by the development of Tañjāvūr as the ceremonial and political centre in the eleventh century. when the Rājarājeśvaram, the largest temple of the Drāvida style, was erected by Rājarāja I, who drew from all other regions of Cōlamandalam, the Temple's resources, service personnel and administrative functionaries, apart from trading organizations. Tanjavur epitomizes the urban processes by evolving as an imperial city, created as a royal/political centre with its stupendous temple project, which drew its services from all over Colamandalam and also from other *mandalams* including Īlam or Īla mandalam (northern Srilanka), thus transplanting all the urban forms and structures which had evolved in the core region of the delta. Tañjāvūr is situated at the head of the delta, on the south, at the entry point, a strategic location for the protection of the rich resource base in the delta. Gangaikondacōlapuram presents a similar case of a city, implanted in the

midst of an agrarian region . Its location north of the delta may also indicate its creation for the purposes of defending the delta region. What Rājarāja did for Tañjāvūr, his son Rājendra emulated by founding a city called Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, which not only symbolized his northern *digvijaya* (a show of prowess rather then conquest and territorial acquisition) but also transferred most of Tañjāvūr's revenue and resources to the new city. Thus we have within Cōḷamaṇḍalam, three major urban centres which emerged by the eleventh century. Of these, Kuḍamūkku-Paḻaiyāṟai is clearly distinguishable by its pre-Cola evolutionary phases and their significant transformation under the Cōḷas into a royal/political/ administrative centre, the residential capital of the Cōḷas, enjoying that status throughout the Cōḷa period, despite Tañjāvūr and Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram, albeit within the confines of Cōḷamaṇḍalam.. Tañjāvūr symbolized the evolution of the Tamil macro- region, with its four *maṇḍalams* and a Naḍuvil nāḍu (between the Kaveri valley and Tondaimandalam) being drawn into the urban spheres of influence of that city. Gangaikondacolapuram emulated Tanjavur but remained a less significant copy- a poor imitation.

Throughout the sub-regions, overlapping and interlocking spheres of influence prevailed, with an urban hierarchy, viz., the royal city at the apex, the royal ports, *Brahmadeyas* as *Taṉ-kūṟus*, *Nagarams* for the *Nādus*, intersected by the movement of South Indian merchant organizations (guilds- Tiśai Āyirattu Aiññūṟṟuvar or Ayyāvoḷe 500, Maṇigrāmam and Añjuvaṇṇam), creating distribution points, protected warehouses called *erivīrappaṭṭaṇa*, and coastal trading stations.

The Urban Core and its expansion.

Kuḍamūkku under the imperial Cōḷas covered a much larger area than the present town of Kumbhakonam(See map of Kuḍamūkku- Paḻaiyāṟai). It extended over the whole of Pāmbūr nāḍu, which contained a cluster of *Brahmadeya*-devadānas, Kuḍamūkkil, a *Brahmadeya*, Tirunāgeśvarm, a *pāl* (in the vicinity of /attached to) of Kuḍamūkkil, and Tiruvalamcuḻi. To this group a fourth one was added in the reign of Parantaka I, i.e., the early Cōḷa period.as it is described as a *pāl* of Kuḍamūkkil, although it is situated outside Pāmbūr nāḍu i.e., Āvūr kūṟṟam. Its close interation with Nandipuram, the *Nagaram* of Paḻaiyāṟai , its patronage by the members if the royal *vēlams* of Tañjāvūr attest to its importance in the tenth century. The core zone of influence

expanded further in the middle Cōla period with the establishment of another *devadāna* settlement called Sōmanāthamangalam separated from Pāmbūr nādu with the Somesvara temple as its nucleus. This temple received several land grants in the inner ring of *nādus* and even from the distant Jayankondacōlamandalam.[7]

The Nāgeśvara temple, which was the focus of Kudamūkku's early development under Parāntaka I, had lands gifted to it not only in Kilār kūrram, Innambar nadu and Milalai-kūrram, but also drew its patrons and donors from the royal family and from Tirunaraiyūr nādu, Inga(l) nadu and Tiruppurambiyam.[8] From distant Malai nadu (Kerala) came traders–cum-donors[9] leading to the evolution of a settlement of called Malaiyālangudi. Royal *vēlams* and the *Kaikkōlas* gifted lands[10] and gifts of money were made by traders and visitors from outside Cōla nādu. Such gifts increased significantly in the eleventh century, when the *nagaram* network expanded to cover the whole of Cōla dominated Tamil region.

In Tirunāgeśvaram , a similar expansion of the area of its control through land gifts in Tirunaraiyūr nādu, Ven nādu and gifts from the royal family and senior royal functionaries indicate the temple's increasing economic reach contributing to the urban core's expansion. A *nagaram* called Kumaramārttāndapuram is mentioned in the local inscriptions, which may have been located either in this centre or in Tiruvidaimarudūr.[11] There was an incessant flow of gifts and property to the temple at Tiruvalamculi throughout the Cōla period with a corresponding expansion in the temple's architecture, e.g. lands in Innambar nādu, Tiraimūr nādu, Valivalakūrram, Nallārrūr nādu and Tirunaraiyūr nādu. In addition donors came from other *Nādus* forming an inner ring of urban influence and signatories drawn from long distances like Pattana-kūrram in an outer ring of urban influence. Royal functionaries were constantly present to oversee the survey and assessment of lands.[12] From the *Nādus* and *kōttams* of Jayankondacōlamandalam(Palaiyanūr nādu, Śirukunra nādu and Āmūr kōttam etc.) in the northern parts of Tamilakam donors came regularly from the eleventh century.. More significant was the internal expansion of of Tiruvalamculi through the founding of *Brahmadeyas* and *agarams* (Akhilanāyakicaturvedimangalam and Vellaivināyakacaturvedimangalam)[13] Interestingly, the *brāhmanas* referred to are those who appear to be descendants of the large number of *brāhmana* families brought into the Tamil *Brahmadeyas* from the north (the Andhra region in particular) from the Pallava period onwards, such as Kārambiccedu, Goravaśrī, Mudumbiyam, Nadādūr, Ambalattadi, Mangalūr and Hamsārai.

Horse dealers form Malaimaṇḍalm (Kerala)[14], who made gifts of land by purchase, may have had their settlement near this centre (in Malaiyāḷangudi?). Kudirai ceṭṭis travelled through the Kongu highway from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries AD. Several centres on this ancient highwāy mark their movement into the Cōḷa region, of which Muṭṭam was the most important.[15]

The whole region covered by Pāmbūr nāḍu, Tiraimūr nāḍu and others were subsequently formed into a single *vaḷanāḍu* (i.e. Uyyakkoṇḍār vaḷanāḍu) under Rajaraja I, when the first major revenue survey and assessment were carried out, demarcating *vaḷanāḍus* by grouping several *Nāḍus* together. This would indicate the emergence of a single cognitive region with its centres having interlocking spheres of economic, particularly agrarian activity. In fact one of the Tiruvalamcuḷi inscriptions points to this by saying that the Uyyakkoṇḍār vaḷanāḍu lay between the Kaveri and Aricilāṟu[16], which were consciously chosen limits for a revenue unit.

Paḷaiyāṟai.

Paḷaiyāṟai grew up as a royal centre around Sōḷamāḷigai, the present site of the early medieval Cōḷa palace. However the temples of this site, including Dārāsuram (Rājarājeśvaram) have relatively less number of inscriptional records, probably due to later renovations and /or neglect. The most important of the middle Cōḷa temples here were the Arumoḷidevīśvaram in Kīḻ-p-Paḷaiayāṟai, which has undergone major renovations in post- Cōḷa times and Tiruccattimuṟṟam (Paṭṭīśvaram)[17], "sung" by the *Tēvāram* hymnists. The *devadāna* land grants to the Arumoḷidevīśvaram were located in Tirunaṟaiyūr nāḍu, while Nandipuram near Paḷaiyāṟai became a *Nagaram* of great importance in the trading network of Cōḷa maṇḍalam. Being the residence of most Cōḷa kings, Paḷaiyāṟai was of pre- eminent status as a seat of royal power. Sundara Cōḷa's preference for this centre is implied in a statement found in the commentary to the *Vīrasōḻiyam*, a Buddhist work on grammar, that he was the king of Nandipuram or Paḷaiyāṟai. When Rājarāja I built the Tañjāvūr temple, he drew a large number of employees to Tañjāvūr from various parts of Cōḷamaṇḍalam and a number of them, such as dancers and musicians belonged to Paḷaiyāṟai and other early Cōḷa centres near Kuḍamūkku.[18] As an administrative centre most of the Cōḷa royal *śāsanas* were issued from Paḷaiyāṟai, including the well -known Tiruvālangāḍu copper plates of Rājendra I and the smaller Leiden grant of Kulottunga

I. Palaiyarai's position as the nerve centre of Cola administration remained unchanged throughout the Cōla period, a fact recognized by the Pāndyas of early thirteenth century AD, when they celebrated their victory over the Cōlas by performing *vīra* and *vijaya abhiṣekas* in Palaiyārai.

This complex is made up of two early Saiva *bhakti* centres, Tirumērrali and Tiruccattimurram, associated with Tirunāvukkaracar and Tirujñānasambandar (two of the *Tēvāram* trio) respectively. Although they date from the *Tēvāram* period and Cōla structures were erected in the ninth-tenth centuries AD, traces of the Cōla strutures have been lost due to later renovations. The other sites in this complex are those of the *pallippadais* or sepulchral/ memorial shrines to the members of the Cōla royal family, the most significant of which is the Pañcavanmahādevīsvaram of the period of Rajendra I, now represented by the village of Rāmanāthankōyil.

In Kudamūkku-Palaiyārai craft production and other non-agricultural activity developed over time, i.e., from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. Craft groups like architects, stone masons and sculptors and bronze image makers/artisans, who were constantly in demand working in the temples of this urban complex. Metal craft/industry was an important occupation, both casting metal images and vessel making, for which Kumbhakonam is a reputed centre. For both these artisan groups, provisions were made in the form of land grants and other material needs. However the source of the metals-copper, tin and brass-, which were in great demand due to incessant temple building and image making activities is not known. The itinerant traders could well have brought them from other regions where they were available, especially tin from southeast Asia, a region which was regularly visited by the itinerant traders. Kumbhakonam also developed as an important weaving centre, for which the evidence from the Cōla inscriptions is only indirect, while in the post-Cōla period weavers from Saurashtra migrated and established a separate settlement in Pattīsvaram. In the Cōla period, the *Kaikkōlas*, who were weavers-cum-warriors, apparently became part time professional weavers. The itinerant traders (Tiśai Āyirattu Aiññūrruvar- Tiruvidaimarudūr and Valañjīyar – Tiruppurambiyam) carried loads of cotton from the cotton growing areas brought the necessary raw material from the early Cōla times.

Tiruvidaimarudūr, an outlying town in this urban core, provides significant data on the urban sphere of influence, enjoying an independent status with its *Sabhā*, *Ūr* and *Nagaram*,

managing the temple's huge estates, landed properties, most of which were granted by the royal family, their *velams* in Palaiyārai, Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram and Tañjāvūr. The Sēnaiyār or army leaders had a significant presence here as most of the temple's grants were protected by them[19]. Tiruvidaimarudūr's influence and economic reach often overlapped and sometimes interlocked with Kuḍamūkku-Palaiyārai. Apart from Tiraimūr nādu, in which it was located, this centre had lands gifted in Veṇ nāḍu, Perāvūr nāḍu, Nallārrūr nāḍu, Maṇṇi nāḍu, Tirunaraiyūr nāḍu, Tiruvaḷundūr nāḍu and others. The donors belonged not only to the royal family but other elite and merchant groups from the *Nāḍus* in Cōlamaṇḍalam and also from the *nāḍus* of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. A chief of Inga(l) nāḍu (called Śirringan Kōyil Parāntaka Mūvēndavēlān) played a major role in the administrative arrangements of Tiruviḍaimarudūr and his importance in Cōḷa administration is indicated by the fact that he was the 'Śrīkāryam ārāyicci śeigira adhikāri' in both Kuḍamūkku and Tiruviḍaimarudūr.[20] Members of the 'Terinda Kaikkōlas' (selected army men) are highly visible in this centre. The 'Nāṭakaśālai' in this centre was maintained by a series of grants from the early Cōḷa times. Proximity to the Cōḷa residential capital would seem to be a major factor in urban character in addition to its special status as a Śaiva sacred centre glorified by the *Tēvāram* hymnists.

Despite the overlapping spheres of influence , especially in land control and agrarian integration, Tiruviḍaimarudūr and Kuḍamūkku show no conflicting spheres or competing influences. Both centres controlled property in the inner and outer ring of *Nāḍus* surrounding them. The juxtaposition of a traditional village population with urban life is a common feature attributed to pre-modern urban centres. Hence we see institutions like the *Brahmadeya Sabhā*, the *Ūr* and the *Nagaram* as well as the temple authorities (*Śrīkāryam*) were present during economic transactions executing them as a joint responsibility in Tiruviḍaimarudūr.

Nāḍus in the inner ring of urban influence include Ambar nāḍu, Inga(l) nāḍu, Maṇṇi nāḍu, Nallārrūr nāḍu, Tiraimūr nāḍu, Tirunaraiyūr nāḍu and Tiruvaḷundūr nāḍu. The *devadāna-Brahmadeyas* of most of these *Nāḍus* acted as central points of integration into the new agrarian order that emerged under the Cōḷas as seen in the royal inscriptions including the revenue surveys of Rājarāja I and Kulottunga I. They were often the nuclei of the *Nāḍus* concerned as in the case of Ambar Tirumākāḷam, which was also a *bhakti* centre (*Tevaram*). There was also a *Nagaram* in Ambar (Vikramacōḷapuram), which was one of a string of market centres in the delta region

active from the middle Cola times. The *Brahmadeyas* which originated in pre- Cōḷa times were consciously promoted by the Cōḷas as in the case of Avanaināràyaṇacaturvedimangalam in Maṇṇi nāḍu, which was renamed in the Cōḷa period as Cōḷamārttāṇḍa caturvedimangalam and Edirilicōḷacaturvedimangalam and made into central places. It had an agglomeration of several settlements which included *devadāna-Brahmadeyas* from other regions , for example, Tiruviśalūr, a vaḍakarai *Brahmadeya* and Tirumangalakkuḍi, a hamlet and Tirukaḷittiṭṭai.[21] It had a *Ghaṭikā*,[22] institution of higher learning of Vedic and Sastric studies, called Nimbāgrahāra, the Sanskritized form of Vēmbaṟṟūr in inscriptions the modern Vēppattūr. Donors came from the royal and other elite families from various *Nāḍus*. This *Brahmadeya* is a supreme example of how the *Nāḍus* came to be systematically and systemically integrated into an agrarian order. It also points to the significance of the *bhakti* ideology in promoting temple centres as the nuclei of such integration, ostensibly under the overarching institutional hegemony of the *Brahmadeya*. Another central place which emerged in this *nāḍu* in the eleventh century was Trailokyamahādevicaturvedimangalam (Tiruloki) also called Virudarājabhayankaracaturvedimangalam.[23]

In Nallāṟṟūr nāḍu, Simhaviṣṇucaturvedimangalam (Kañjanūr), an early *brahmadeya* and Tirukkōḍikkāval alias Kaṇṇamangalam, a *devadāna* acted as centres of interaction with the capital, while the merchants of Nandipuram/Palaiyāṟai and Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram figure as donors to the local Śiva temples.[24]

The *Brahmadeyas* of different *Nāḍus* were brought into interactive and supportive relationship with one another through politically powerful elite. This is attested by several transactions. In a land transaction relating to the payment of certain land taxes on lands in Tiraimūr nāḍu, the *Sabhā* of Vikramasinga catrurvedimangalam (Ialāiccikuḍi) in Maṇṇi nāḍu was entrusted with the responsiblility of payment in the reign of Rājarāja I. Three centres in Tiraimūr nāḍu, viz., Abhayakulaśekharacaturvedimangalm (Sāttanūr), Tiruvāvaḍuturai and Tirukkolambiyūr were drawn into close interaction with the capital through a sale of land and house site to the Cōḷa princess Kundavai through the *Sabhā* of Vānavanmahādevicaturvedimangalam in Innambar nāḍu. for making a grant in Sāttanūr to a physician. Similarly a sale of land was made by the *Sabhā* of Kōṭṭūr/Jayadhīracaturvedimangalam, a *Brahmadeya* in Tiruvaḷundūr nāḍu and by a *kiḻavan* (chief of Māttūr for the maintenance of the Nānāvida Naṭaśālai in Tiraimūr.[25] Chiefs of other regions like

Naduvil nādu (Jambai/Vālaiyūr) were purchasing land from members of the local *Ālumganam* of Sāttanūr. Donations also came from the *velams* at Gangaikondacolapuram to the Mahādeva temple at Tiuvāydulurai[26] and these lands were located in Kulottungacola nallūr, a *vīrabhoga* village of the *Kaikkolas* of Gangaikondacolapuram.

In Tirunaraiyūr nādu within the urban core of the delta, Tirunaraiyūr alias Pañcavanmahādeviśvaram, the nucleus of this *nādu* along with centres like Vikramacolanallūr (Tukkācci) alias Irumarabuntūya perumāl nallūr and Kūhūr (later known as Virudarājabhayankarapuram), a *Nagaram*, were the main centres of interaction while two other market centres called Nalladimangalam and Avaninārāyanapuram added to this *nādu's* trading points in the middle and late Cola periods.[27] Tiruvīlimilalai, one of the series of Śaiva centres in the Kaveri region, where Śaiva *mathas* came into existence in the late Cola period. Here a *matha* named after the Śaiva saint Jñānasambandar was constructed by Jñānaśiva, a disciple of the Tiruccattimurram *matha*.[28] The concept of circulation relevant in defining cognitive regions, may be useful in understanding the role of these *mathas*, which emerged in a series of Śaiva centres marking the movement of people and trade, as also the development of the idea of a community based on religious identity.

In Tiruvalundūr nādu, an early Cola *Brahmadeya* called Ānāngūr with a temple built by Śembiyan Mahādevi, Uttamacola caturvedimanagalam(a part of which was the present Kurrālam known as Vīngunīrtturutti) and Vīranārāyanacaturvedimangalam on the north bank of the Kaveri , another early Cola *Brahmadeya*, were involved in the process of agrarian integration and urban influence. To Tiruvalundūr, the nucleus of this *nādu*, several settlements were attached, of which Kīlaiyūr was important.[29] Temples successively built in Tiruvalundūr and its environs increased the agricultural activities in the middle and late Cola times. Uttamacolacaturvedimangalam had links with the *Brahmadeya* called Bhūlokamānikka caturvedimangalam in Nallārrūr nādu (in the Virudarājabhayanakara *valanādu*-the same *valanādu*). One of the Śaiva *mathas* belonging to the Tiruccattimurram lineage was located in this centre.[30]

In the outer ring of *Nādus* one may identify Andāttu-k-kūrram, Ārkkāttu-k-kūrram, Cērrūr-kūrram, Kurkkai nādu, Marugal nādu, Milalai nādu, Nallūr nādu, Nenmali nādu ,

Pattana-k-kurram, Purankarambai nadu and Venni-k-kurram. This may be described as a secondary zone of influence in which the *Nadus* are linked to the urban core and the inner ring of *Nadus* through the same institutional forces, such as the *Brahmadeya* , the temple and the *Nagaram*. Some of these *Nadus* fell more directly under the urban sphere of Tanjavur, although their initial development under the early Colas was due to their interaction with the Kudamukku- Palayarai urban complex. An interesting example is Arkkattu-k-kurram, which lay on the south bank of the Kaveri and closer to Tanjavur. The proliferation of the *Nagaram* in the middle Cola period and the movement of the itinerant traders provided links between *Nadus* within Colamandalam and also between different poiltico-cultural regions, which is well established by the outer zone of *Nadus* with the increasing references to *Nagaram* and Ainnurruvar. More important was the development of Nagappattinam (Solakulavalli pattinam) in the middle Cola times which superseded Kaverippumpattinam as the major Cola port from the eleventh century under Rajaraja I. Located in Pattana-k-kurram, this port established regular interaction with Tanjavur. Merchants from all over Colamandalam and even beyond from Malaimandalam frequented this port e.g. from Pandalayani Kollam and Kurukkeni Kollam (modern Quilon). Foreign agents of the Srivijaya king (Kidarattariyan) appear as donors making gifts of money and gold (Cinakkanam).[31] With the receding importance of Kaverippumpattinam, the core region of Kudamukku as well as Tanjavur established links with this port through Tiruvarur, a *Nagaram* of great importance in Tiruvarur kurram from the period of Rajendra I in particular. A major highway connected the three centres. Rajendra's maritime expeditions are well known and were intended to facilitate the movement of trade with the southeast Asian regions. Commercial ventures between Kadaram or Srivijaya and the Cola region were legitimised by religious grants made by the respective ruling families through their political and commercial agents. The presence of Srivijaya agents making gifts to the local temples and the construction of Cudamanivarama vihara in this port for the Theravada Buddhists by the Srivijaya ruler may be seen as a major example of inter-regional commercial ventures being legitimized by religious grants.

Thus Kudamukku-Palaiyarai's sphere of influence extended to distant regions like the coastal areas for different kinds of interaction. The outlet for long distance trade from Cola nadu in the early Cola period was Kaverippumpattinam and what is significant is that the early Cola

temples appear in a series of points connecting the core region with this port, like Tiruveṇkāḍu in Nāṅgūr, a *Brahmadeya* in Nāṅgūr nāḍu, which contains evidence of the movement of merchants from Ādirājmangalyapuram (Tiruvadigai) in Meṟkā nāḍu in Naḍuvil nāḍu and from Malai nāḍu (Kerala).[32] The Paṭṭanapperuvaḻi passed through it (inscription of Rajaraja I) , while the town of Kāvērippaṭṭinam itself appears as a boundary in a land grant. When Nāgappaṭṭinam became the major Cōla port, the *Nagaram* of Tiruvārūr emerged in the eleventh century giving access to this port which superseded Kāvērippaṭṭinam.

The coastal region of Umbaḷa nāḍu, marked by Vēdāraṇyam/ Tirumaṟaikkāḍu, contains swamps which came to be tapped for salt production very early and this *nāḍu* forms part of the inner ring of urban influence even from the early Cōḷa period. Vēdāraṇyam was a big *devadāna* in this *nāḍu*, in which Parāntaka I's inscriptions exceeds in number those of other Cōḷa kings suggesting that this area was integrated through trade and that the early Cōḷas established direct access to this region apparently to control salt production and its movement. The Vēdāraṇyam inscriptions refer to donors from the core of the delta region, *vyāpāris* from Karuvūr, merchants and palace servants from Tañjāvūr and the Tiśai Āyirattu Aiññūṟṟuvar organization. Two more *Brahmadeyas* and two *Nagarams* also came up by the eleventh century AD in Kuṇṟūr nāḍu and Kānattūr nāḍu within Umbaḷa nāḍu.[33] By mid-eleventh century the interaction with the heartland was close and regular.

The *Brahmadeya*'s ramifications as an institutional force[34] are more significantly established by the fact that large *Brahmadeyas* of the pre- Cōḷa and early Cōḷa periods supplied *brāhmaṇa* migrants to newly created *brahmedeyas* under the Cōḷas.. In Veṇṇi-k-kūṟṟam, one of the largest *Brahmadeyas* called Tribhuvanamahādevicaturvedimangalam, was founded by Rājendra I (Karandai plates)in Vīracōla vaḷanāḍu, by making a grant of lands in over fifty villages to 1080 *brāhmaṇas* (whose places of origin, names, *gotras* and Vedic *śākhas* are listed) brought and settled in it from several other earlier *Brahmadeyas*, big and small, in Cōlamaṇḍalam and other regions such as Vīranārāyaṇacaturvedimangalam (in Naḍuvil nāḍu) . This centre is remarkable as it marks one of the central places in Cōlamaṇḍalam's integration. Equally remarkable is the fact that in the same reign, two major *Brahmadeyas* were founded in distant Muḷḷi nāḍu in the Tāmraparṇi valley and a similar migration of *brāhmaṇas* of different families known from the northern

Brahmadeyas of the Pallava and early Cōḷa period took place and the administrative structures of the Cōḷa region were replicated in this region with a royal seat for the Cōḷa prince appointed there to govern the Pāṇḍya region. This region developed into an urban core (See map of Tamraparṇi valley: Urban Core), where the administrative structures and economic organization of the Cōḷa region were introduced in the eleventh century. The principle of deconcentration through migration under royal *śāsana* operated in the evolution of such *Brahmadeyas*.

The *Taṉ-kūṟu* or *Taṉiyūr*[35] is yet another innovation of the Cōḷas which meant a separate or independent revenue unit, outside the *nāḍu's* jurisdiction, as most major *Brahmadeyas* were. The *Taṉ-kūṟu* was a pluralistic settlement. Major *Brahmadeyas* like Uttaramērūr in Toṇḍai nāḍu, Vīrnārāyaṇacaturvedimangalam (Uḍaiyārguḍi, Chidambaram taluk) in the south Arcot district and others were made into *Taniyūrs* as a result of a process agglomeration of several settlements. Such *Taniyūrs* are conspicuously few in Cōḷamaṇḍalam. Yet, the Naḍuvil nāḍu and Cōḷa nāḍu examples including Chidambaram and Mannārguḍi had settlements grouped around them in to *pērilamainādus*, thus acting as a centre of agglomeration of temple settlements. In effect it created a midlle rank/ level in the urban hierarchy between the royal centre and the village (*ūr*). It may be added here that most of the royal *śāsanas* relating to revenue surveys, assessment and exemptions, crucial to the administrative organization of the Cōḷas were inscribed in the temples of the *Taṉ-kūṟus*, a practice followed by the chieftains who displaced the Cōḷas in the wake of the Cōḷa decline in the thirteenth century. In Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the *Taṉ-kūṟu* played a major role in the place of the *vaḷanāḍu* in the restructuring of the revenue units of this region. Tha Muḷḷi nāḍu *Brahmadeyas* also played a similar role.

Thus emerged a series of central places with immediate spheres of influence or small regions. This is true of all major *Brahmadeyas* of Cōḷamaṇḍalaṃ, most of which evolved not in a process of decentralisation but as one of de-concentration creating a series of such central points.

Circulation is a concept of great relevance to the evolution of the Tamil region as a cognitive region and more particularly the Kaveri region becoming a sub-region with a graded hierarchy of urban centres. While Burton Stein used the "trace evidence" of inscriptions for

discussing the *maṇḍalams* of the Tamil macro-region, he also pointed out how the concept of "circulatory flows" has been used to define pilgrimage regions in India. The corpus of the *Tēvāram* has been the subject of some cultural-geographic attention.[36] Using both the hymns and inscriptions a chronological classification of the Cōḷa temples into three phases, early, middle and late, has also been possible. Based on these studies, if a contextual (in space and time) is made of these centres, it becomes remarkably interesting and meaningful in tracing the evolution of like Kuḍamūkku-Paḷaiyārai with its urban region (hinterland) or spheres of influence , appearing as a simultaneous process. A survey of the sacred centres referred to in the Vaiṣṇava hymns would add to the evidence on this development.

Of the 537 Saiva shrines glorified by the *bhakti* hymns, 300 are located in the Kaveri basin, the rest being scattered over the other regions of the Tamil country and outside of it. Burton Stein pointed out that these centres in the Kaveri region appear along with major *Brahmadeya* sites of the Cōḷa period, a joint distribution pattern showing the general conformity of the two kinds of sacred places.[37] This conformity is significant and our study points to a nexus that seems to have been consciously evolved under the Cōḷas , showing the correlation between the *Brahmadeyas* and *bhakti* shrines.

The temple as a legitimating institution took precedence over the *Brahmadeya* even from the tenth century AD in the integration of different politico-cultural sub-regions of the Tamil country. Temples became the biggest landowners, consumers of luxury and exotic items from distant lands for ritual and festival needs. They mobilized and redistributed resources and their economic reach was substantial. Most important was the role of the royal temples as symbols of power as they were architecturally the most impressive and carried political imagery in the iconographic forms of the deities. [38] Yet the *Brahmadeya* continued to be a very useful theoretical and conceptual basis of political legitimation and agrarian integration. Thus the pattern of distribution of these two conforms to the expanding area of agrarian activity and urban growth. It is interesting to see, in this connection, that most of the temples built in the *Tēvāram* sites, non-*Tēvāram* and Vaiṣṇava sacred sites in pre- Cōḷa and Cōḷa settlements are often attached to or made a part of *Brahmadeyas* (caturvedimangalattu). In all such cases the *Brahmadeya* designation acts as an overarching concept in the agglomeration of these sites, both of pre- existing and newly created ones. Hence the *Sabhā* is the most prominent institution in inscriptional records, first as a managing

body of a *brāhmaṇa* settlement and then an active participant in the creation of temples, assigning lands to them under royal *śāsanas*. Earlier *Brahmadeyas* with a pre-dominant land ownership by *brāhmaṇas* assisted in the process of creating temple centres, many of which were attached to them as *piḍāgais*. Here, it would be relevant to mention that the *mūlapariṣad* of the Nāgeśvara temple in Kuḍamūkku made over to the temple under royal orders lands as *abhiṣekakkāṇi* given to them in several *Nāḍus*.[39]

The above discussion is meant to show that the *bhakti* ideology, which was consciously adopted and promoted by the Cōḷas, helped in establishing the temple's greater visibility as the focus of integration. It also led to the temple as an institution being replicated in non-*Tēvāram* sites and non-*Brahmadeya* sites newly created for poltico-economic reasons. This role was conspicuously emphasized by the building of royal temples like the Rājarājeśvaram in Tañjāvūr and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḷīśvaram in Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram appropriating the status of primate cities, which Kuḍamūkku-Paḻaiyāṟai enjoyed in the early Cōḷa period, although Kuḍamūkku- Paḻaiyāṟai retained its primacy till the end of Cōḷa rule. The late Cōḷa temples at Dārāsuram and Tribhuvanam are examples of how Kuḍamūkku continued to be the main seat of power till the thirteenth century. Later, however, the withdrawal of its political role led to the disintegration of Paḻaiyāṟai, whereas Kuḍamūkku as a sacred/pilgrimage centre retained its urban character in the post- Cōḷa, i.e., Vijayanagara and Nāyaka periods.

The forces of centrality, which operated in the development of the core urban complex- Kuḍamūkku-Paḻaiyāṟai- and a city system in Cōḷamaṇḍalam, manifested themselves in many significant ways in the Tamil macro- region. A second urban core developed in the Tamraparni valley with the establishment of two *Brahmadeyas*- Rājarājacaturvedimangalam and Cēravanmahādevicaturvedimangalam in Muḷḷi nāḍu, replicating in every detail the role of the *Brahmadeya* and the temple, a large number of which clustered together in eleventh- twelfth centuries AD to form this urban core. *Nagarams* grew up and the Tiśai Āyirattu Aiññūṟṟuvar moved in this region frequently and army groups (Mūṉṟukai Mahāsēnai) were present for the protection of the temples of this urban complex. The institutional structures of the core region in Cōḷamaṇḍalam were brought here through the agencies of royal authority, restructuring and introducing

administrative arrangements such as revenue survey, assessment and agrarian organization, creating nodal points, with the agglomeration of older and new settlements.

Kāñcīpuram's urbanism was the manifestation of a sub-system within this larger city system but with significant differences in that the forces of centrality and concentration operated together to create this primate city and its region (See Maps of Kancipuram AD 1300: The Hinterland and Kancipuram: The City). It developed also under royal patronage and initiative into a multi-temple city (36 temples by the end of the Cōḷa period and 72 by the end of the Vijayanagara period) through a process of reurbanisation even form the Pallava period but more systematically under the Cōḷas due to the restructuring of its urban form, transforming the early historical Kacci into Kāñcīmānagaram, with an agricultural hinterland covering the whole of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and urban economic interaction with a *Nagaram* network (24 *Nagarams* in 24 *kōṭṭams*). The region here is better defined with reciprocal services between the city and its hinterland. Equally well defined was Kāñcīpuram's cultural role.[40]

Kāñcīpuram and Kuḍamūkku established direct links through trade and promotion of craft production like textiles in which the Cōḷas were directly involved. The Sāliyas of Kāñcīpuram became the prestigious weavers of royal garments, to whom special grants were made.[41] The elite groups imitated royalty in acquiring their services.

Chidambaram (Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr), the most sacred of the Śaiva centres, acquired a separate status at the apex of a religious network. The Cōḷas derived their legitimation by performing their coronation at this centre, which stood both for the Sanskritic and Tamil (*Bhakti*) components in the ideological base of Cōḷa monarchy. Chidambaram evolved into a *Taniyūr*, with several settlements around it grouped into *pēriḷamainādus*.

The foundation of the Tañjāvūr temple virtually implanted a city at the entry point to the Kaveri delta, shifting the focus of political authority from Kuḍamūkku-Paḻaiyāṟai core to Tañjāvūr. This city, which may be described as a ceremonial centre, drew from the entire Cōḷamaṇḍalam, which was created by the centrality of Kuḍamūkku, all of its structures and human resources and established reciprocal flow of resources- deposits and income in the form of revenue

and interests- from not only Cōlamandalam, but the entire Tamil macro-region, as well as Gangapādi, Nulambapādi and Ilam, wherever Cōla authority penetrated through conquest. Among the large number of *Sabhās* and *Nagarams* with which Tañjāvūr established reciprocal flow of resources , Kudamūkku-Palaiyārai was also included. Yet this imperial city had only a brief spell of hegemony, a position which Gangaikondacōlapuram tried to usurp, by transferring much of the resources flowing into Tañjāvūr. However, Gangaikondacolapuram was abandoned after the decline of the Cōlas, while Tanjavur once again became a seat of political authority under the Nāyaka subordinates of Vijayanagara and under the Marathas.

Each of these Cōla cities/towns may be seen as the centre of a solar system with its planets (satellites) grouped around it and evolving as part of a larger system dominated by a metropolis[42], Palaiyārai in the early Cōla period, Tañjāvūr and Gangaikondacōlapuram in the middle and late Cōla periods, while Kudamūkku-Palaiyārai retained its centrality throughout.

It has been a constant endeavour in this lecture to show that there is no given hinterland to any centre, which emerges as a town or a city. In pre- industrial situations, as in early medieval and medieval south India, the city and the hinterland evolved simultaneously, the expansion of both, in physical and functional terms resulting from such a process. Evolving over a period of time, such cities and their regions reach a point of saturation, with the city system remaining open, minor and long term changes being absorbed into it without signs of discontinuity. Major changes, with exogenous interpolations, may lead to a transformation and different kinds of urban regions may develop due to political and economic changes.[43] Such major changes occurred in the Vijayanagara period (from the fourteenth century onwards) , which requires further investigation into what happens to cities like Kudamūkku-Palaiyārai and Tañjāvūr and their regions in new politico-economic contexts. In south India, under Vijayanagara, a modified system seems to have emerged reacting to technological and organizational changes with new locational demands such as shifting of political and power centres and the nature of the state, with new urban roles and hinterlands.

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[7] Inscriptions No: 3 of ARSIE 1915(1914-15); 299 of 1965-66; 295 of 1927 (1926-27) and 298 of 1927.

[8] 249 of 1911(1911-12); SII, XII, 44,; SII, XIX, 431; 250 of 1911; 230 Of 1911; SII, III, 200; 203 of 1911; 223 of 1911;260 of 1911.

[9] SII XIX, 50.

[10] SII, III, 129, 131, 204; SII, XIX, 204.

[11] 262 of 1907(1907-08); 218 of 1911; 211 of 1911; 217 of 1911 (1911-12).

[12] SII, VIII, 220; 193-211 of 1927-28.

[13] SII, Viii, 229 and 231.

[14] 196 of 1927-28.

[15] R.Champakalakshmi, *op.cit.,* 1996, Chap.4.

[16] SII, III, 224.

[17] 157 of 1908 (1908-09); 270 of 1927 (1926-27).

[18] SII, II, 66, 69 and 70.

[19] SII, V,710,712,714 and 723: SII, XIX, 278, 279 and 300; 244 of 1907(1907-08).

[20] SII, V, 716; SII, III, 203; SII, XIX, 162 and 342.

[21] 25 and 42 of 1907(1906-07); 314 and 341 of 1907 (1907-08); 292, 297 and 299 of 1908 (1908-09); 226 of 1927; SII, III, 122; SII, XIII, 87 and 253; SII, XIX, 5, 244 and 418.

[22] 293 of 1908 (1908-09); 40 of 1907 (1906-07); SII, III, 121.

[23] 102 and 112 of 1931-32.

[24] 265 of 1907 (1907-08); 9 -58 of 1930-31; SII, XII, 222; SII, XIII, 222; SII, XIII, 102,259; SII, XIV, 20; SII, XIX, 72-115.

[25] 152 of 1925 (1924-25); 67 of 1926 (1925-26).

[26] 69 of 1926(1925-26).

[27] 1 of 1918 (1917-18); R.Champakalakshmi, *op.cit.*, Chap.4, Table IV.

[28] 392 of 1908 (1908-09).

[29] 94 of 1925 (1925-26)

[30] 495 of 1907 (1907-08).

[31] 152 and 166 of 1956-57.

[32] 464 of 1918 (1918-19).

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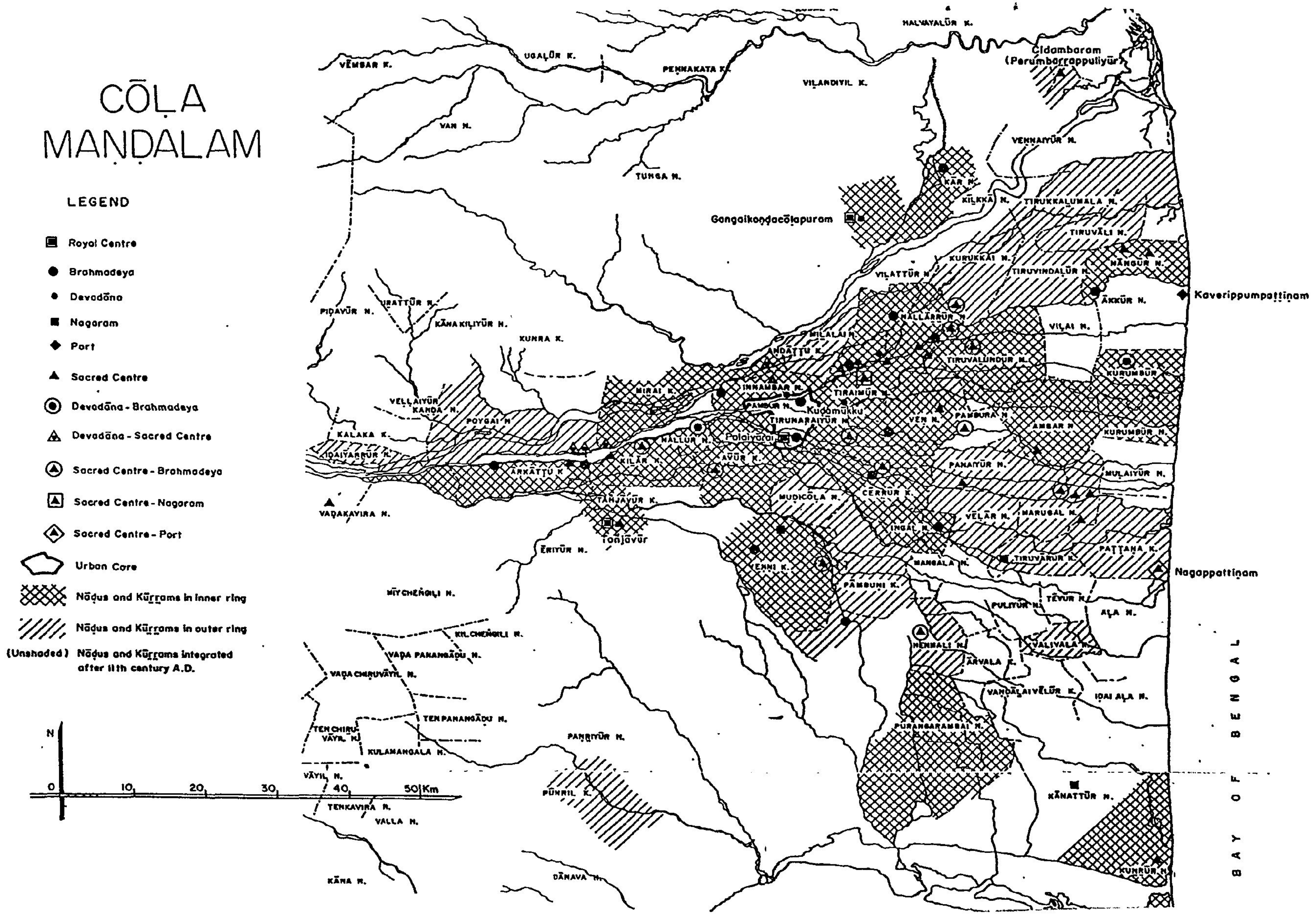
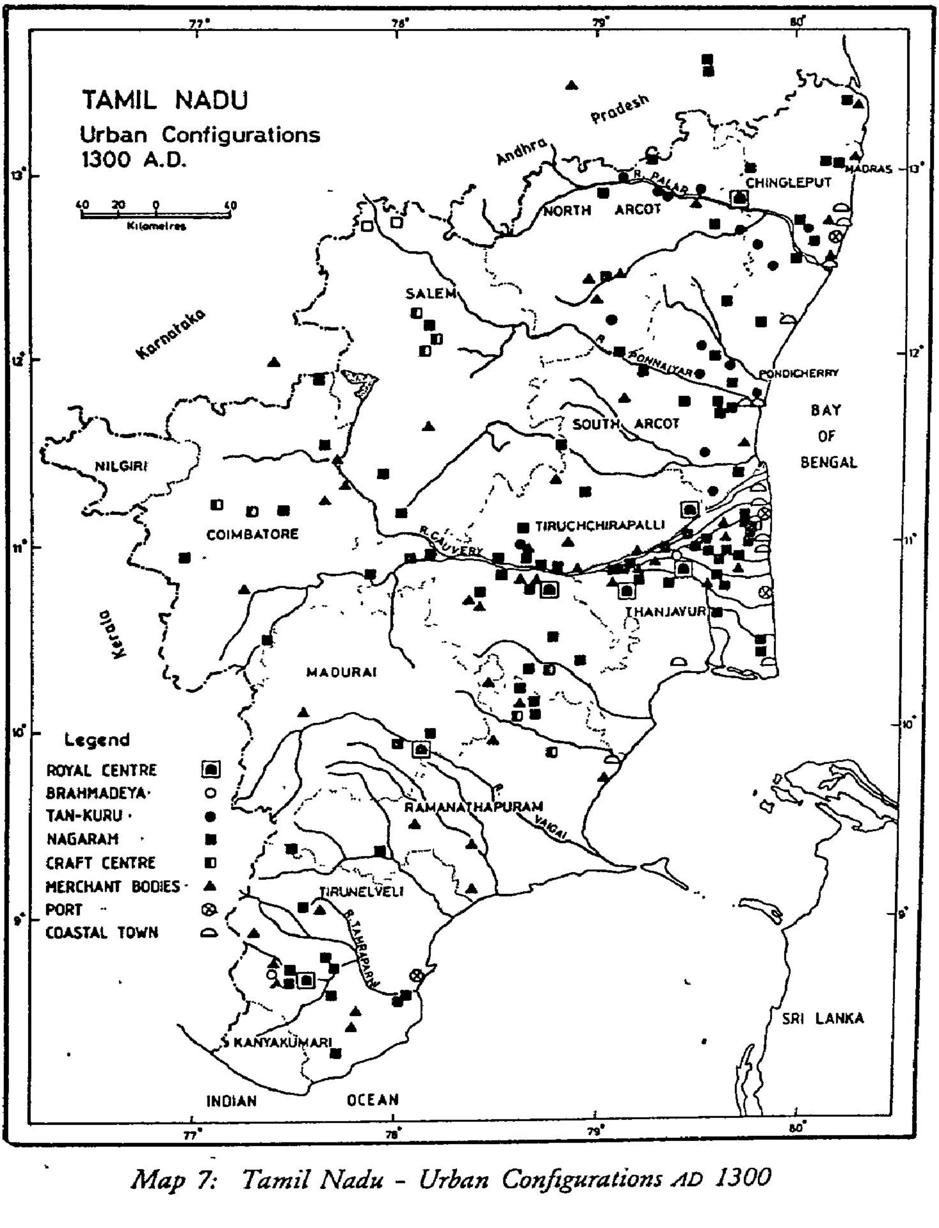
[41] The Madras Museum Plates fof Sundara Cola, SII, part III, 128.

[42] See Beaujeu Garnier and G. Chabot, *Urban Geography,* p.437.

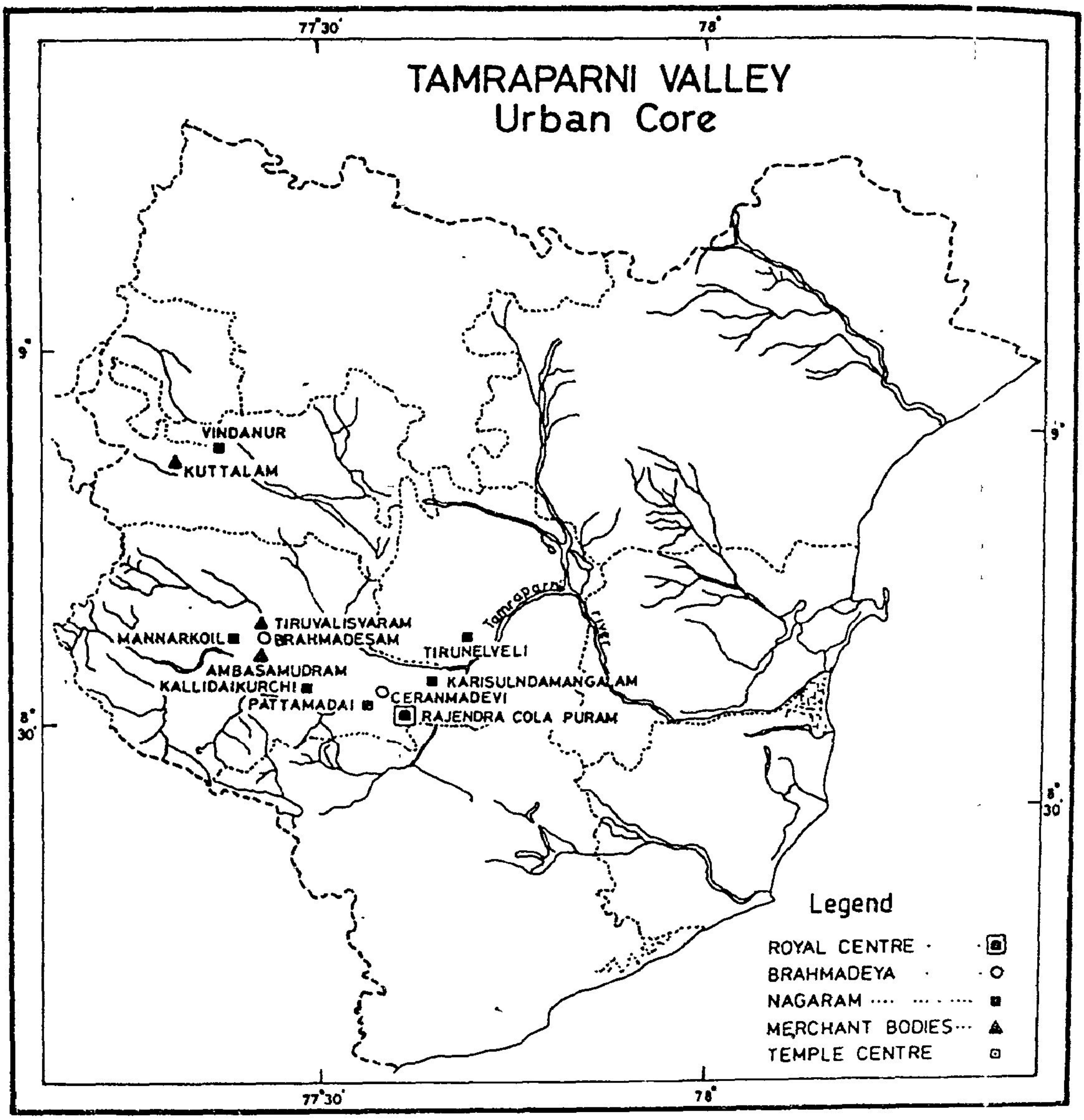
[43] See Harold Carter, *The Study of Urban Geography,* p.131.



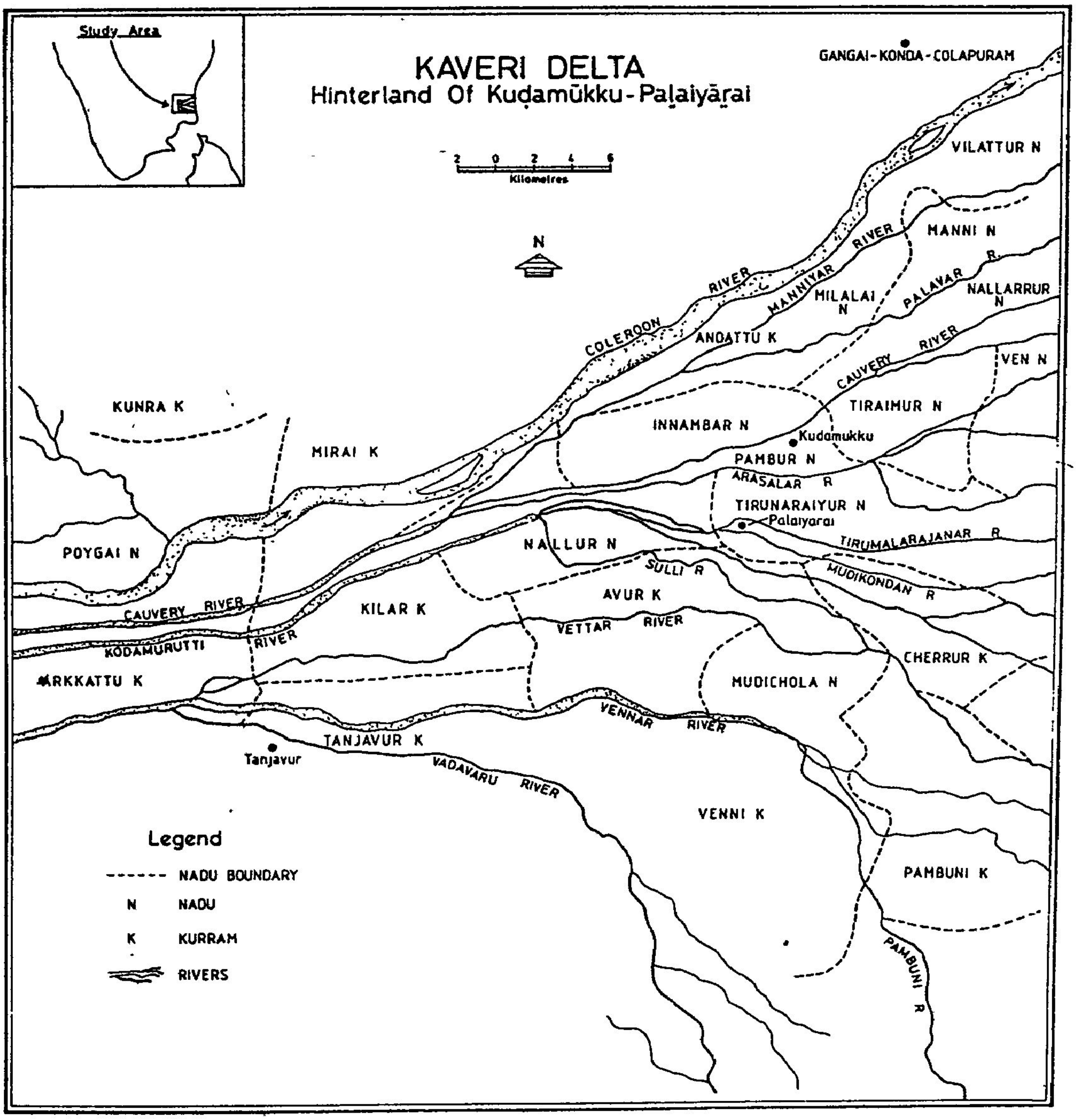
CŌḶA MAṆḌALAM
LEGEND
Royal Centre
Brahmadeya
Devadāna
Nagaram
Port
Sacred Centre
Devadāna - Brahmadeya
Devadāna - Sacred Centre
Sacred Centre - Brahmadeya
Sacred Centre - Nagaram
Sacred Centre - Port
Urban Core
Nāḍus and Kūrrams in inner ring
Nāḍus and Kūrrams in outer ring
(Unshaded) Nāḍus and Kūrrams integrated after 11th century A.D.
N
0 10 20 30 40 50 Km
HALVAYALŪR K.
VĒMBAR K.
UGAḶŪR K.
PENNAKATA K.
VILANDIYIL K.
Cidambaram (Perumbarrappuliyūr)
VAN N.
TUNGA N.
VENNAIYŪR N.
KĀR N.
KILKKĀ N.
TIRUKKALUMALA N.
Gangaikoṇḍacōḷapuram
TIRUVĀLI N.
KURUKKAI N.
NĀNGUR N.
VILATTŪR N.
TIRUVINDALŪR N.
ĀKKŪR N.
Kaverippumpaṭṭiṇam
PIDAVŪR N.
IRATTŪR N.
KĀNA KILIYŪR N.
KUNRA K.
NALLĀRRŪR N.
VILAI N.
MILALAI N.
ANDĀTTU K.
TIRUVALUNDUR N.
KURUMBŪR N.
INNAMBAR N.
TIRAIMŪR N.
MIRAI K.
PAMBUR N.
Kuḍamūkku
VEN N.
PAMBURA N.
AMBAR N.
VELLAIYŪR KANDA N.
POYGAI N.
TIRUNARAIYŪR N.
KALAKA K.
NALLŪR N.
Palaiyārai
IDAIYARRŪR N.
AVŪR K.
ARKĀTTU K.
KILĀR K.
PANAIYŪR N.
MULAIYŪR N.
CERRUR K.
MUDICOLA N.
VADAKAVIRA N.
TANJAVŪR K.
MARUGAL N.
VELĀR N.
INGAL N.
Tañjāvūr
ĒRIYŪR N.
PATTANA K.
VENNI K.
MANGALA N.
TIRUVĀRŪR K.
Nagappaṭṭiṇam
PĀMBUNI K.
MIYCHENGILI N.
PULIYŪR N.
TĒVUR N.
ĀLA N.
KILCHENGILI N.
NENMALI N.
VALIVALA N.
VADA PANANGĀDU N.
ARVALA K.
VADA CHIRUVĀYIL N.
VANDĀLAIVELŪR K.
IDAI ALA N.
TEN PANANGĀDU N.
PURANGARAMBAI N.
TEN CHIRU-VĀYIL N.
PANRIYŪR N.
KULAMANGALA N.
VĀYIL N.
KĀNATTŪR N.
PŪNRIL K.
TENKAVIRA N.
VALLA N.
DĀNAVA N.
KĀNA N.
KUNRŪR N.
BAY OF BENGAL



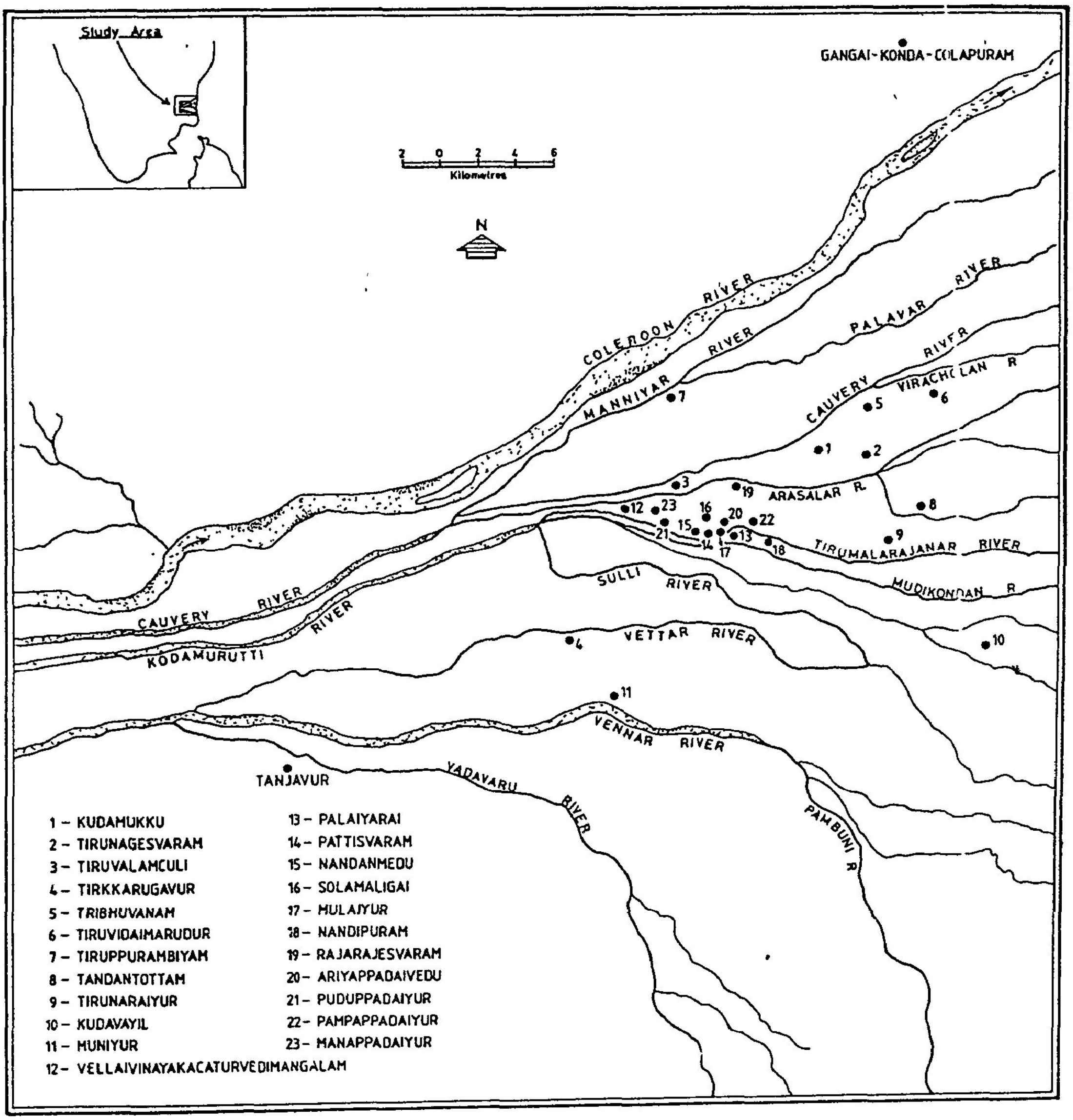
Map 7: Tamil Nadu - Urban Configurations AD 1300



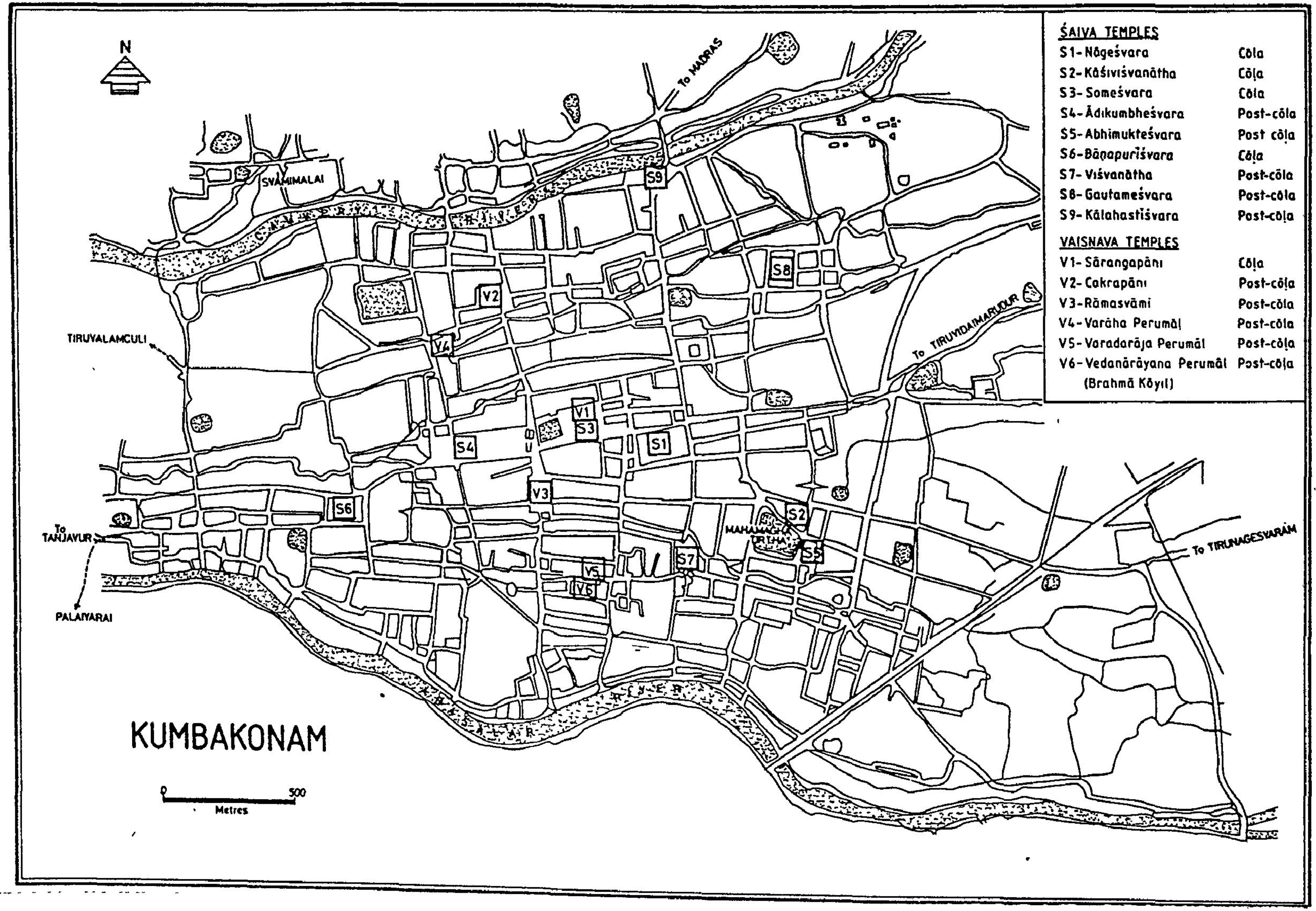
Map 8: The Tamraparni Valley: Urban Core



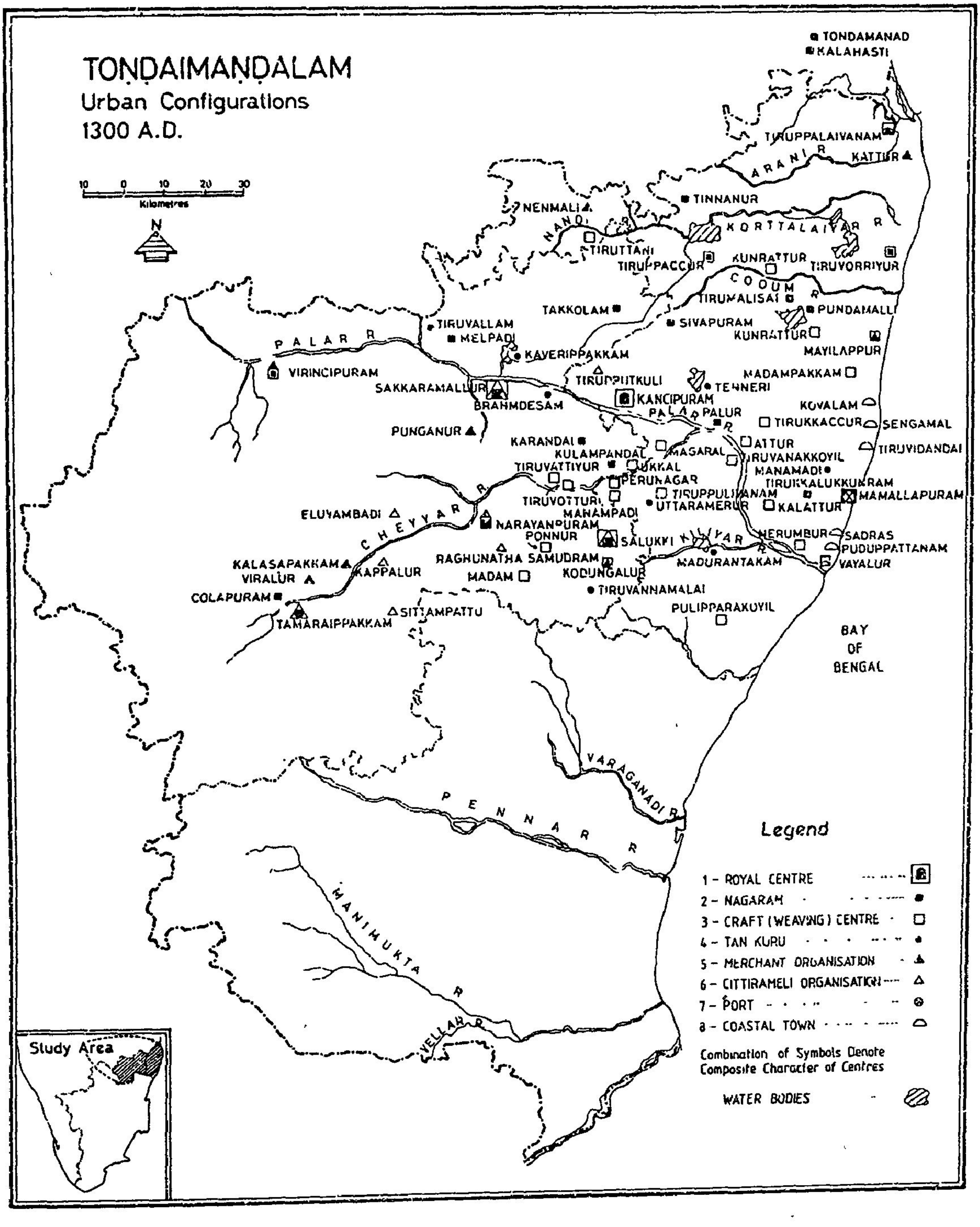
Map 9: The Kaveri Delta - The Hinterland of Kuḍamūkku-Paḷaiyāṟai



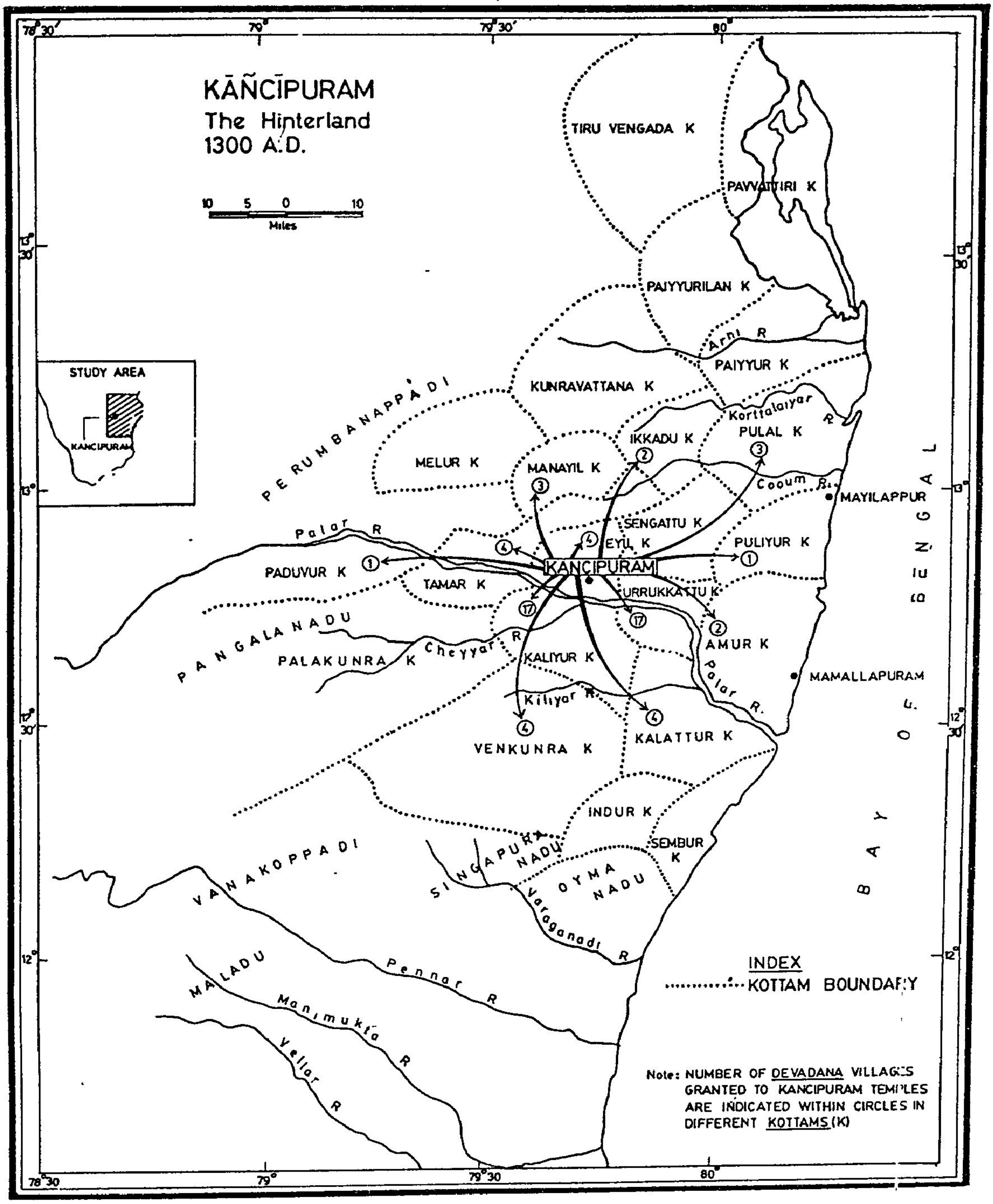
Map 10: Kuḍamūkku-Paḷaiyāṛai - The Urban Core



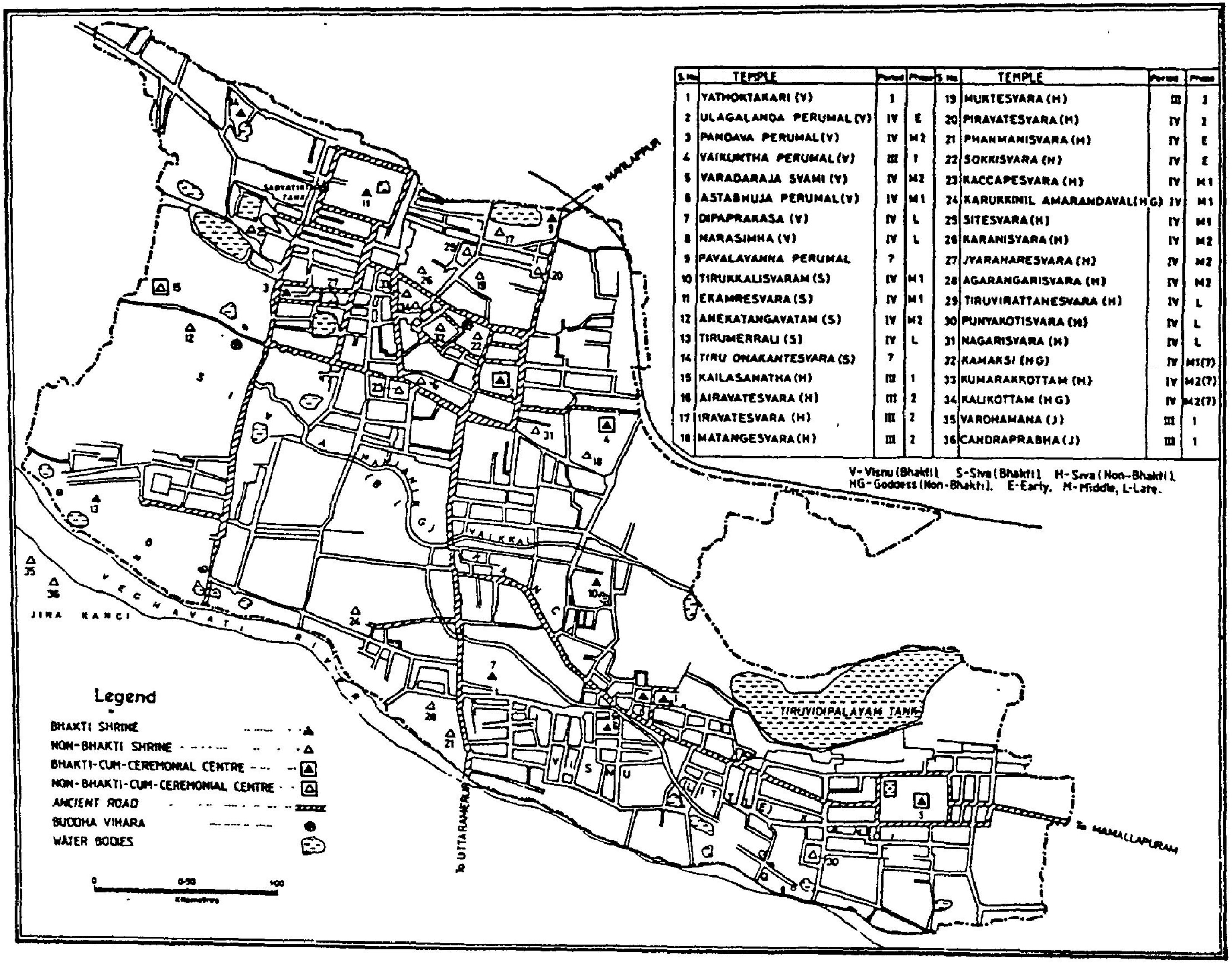
Map 11: Kumbhakonam



Map 13: Tondaimandalam AD 1300: Urban Configurations



Map 14: Kañcīpuram: The Hinterland AD *1300*



S.No	TEMPLE	Period	Phase	S.No	TEMPLE	Period	Phase
1	YATHOKTAKARI (V)	I		19	MUKTESVARA (H)	III	2
2	ULAGALANDA PERUMAL (V)	IV	E	20	PIRAVATESVARA (H)	IV	2
3	PANDAVA PERUMAL (V)	IV	M2	21	PHANMANISVARA (H)	IV	E
4	VAIKUNTHA PERUMAL (V)	III	1	22	SOKKISVARA (H)	IV	E
5	VARADARAJA SVAMI (V)	IV	M2	23	KACCAPESVARA (H)	IV	M1
6	ASTABHUJA PERUMAL (V)	IV	M1	24	KARUKKINIL AMARANDAVAL (HG)	IV	M1
7	DIPAPRAKASA (V)	IV	L	25	SITESVARA (H)	IV	M1
8	NARASIMHA (V)	IV	L	26	KARANISVARA (H)	IV	M2
9	PAVALAVANNA PERUMAL	?		27	JVARAHARESVARA (H)	IV	M2
10	TIRUKKALISVARAM (S)	IV	M1	28	AGARANGARISVARA (H)	IV	M2
11	EKAMRESVARA (S)	IV	M1	29	TIRUVIRATTANESVARA (H)	IV	L
12	ANEKATANGAVATAM (S)	IV	M2	30	PUNYAKOTISVARA (H)	IV	L
13	TIRUMERRALI (S)	IV	L	31	NAGARISVARA (H)	IV	L
14	TIRU ONAKANTESVARA (S)	?		32	KAMAKSI (HG)	IV	M1(?)
15	KAILASANATHA (H)	III	1	33	KUMARAKKOTTAM (H)	IV	M2(?)
16	AIRAVATESVARA (H)	III	2	34	KALIKOTTAM (HG)	IV	M2(?)
17	IRAVATESVARA (H)	III	2	35	VAROHAMANA (J)	III	1
18	MATANGESVARA (H)	III	2	36	CANDRAPRABHA (J)	III	1

Map 15: *Kañcipuram: The City*